

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 118042

NODIS
FOR DR BRZEZINSKI

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM FROM BELGRADE DATED MAY 21, 1977
SENT SECSTATE WASHDC IS REPEATED TO YOU: QUOTE

S E C R E T BELGRADE 3282

NODIS

DEPARTMENT PLEASE PASS WHITE HOUSE,ATTENTION: DR. BRZEZINSKI

EO 11652 GDS
TAGS: PFOR OVIP (MONDALE, WALTER F) US SF RH WA
SUBJ: THIRD MEETING BETWEEN VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE AND
PRIME MINISTER VORSTER, MORNING MAY 20

SUMMARY: VICE PRESIDNET MONDALE CALLED ON VORSTER TO MOVE TO
END APARTHEID AND SET GOAL OF FULL AND EQUAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION
IN SOUTH AFRICA. VORSTER COUNTERED THAT APARTHEID DID NOT CON-
STITUTE DISCRIMINATION, AND THAT HE HAD NO INTENTION OF ALTERING
GOALS OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT POLICY. AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON
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RHODESIAN LANGUAGE FOR STATEMENT TO PRESS, AND SOULH AFRICANS
CONFIRMED WILLINGNESS TO RECEIVE CONTACT GROUP ON NAMBIBIA IN LATE MA
Y.
END SUMMARY

1. SOUTHERN RHODESIA:
VORSTER AGREED TO ACCEPT LANGUAGE VICE PRESIDENT HAD PROPOSED
AFTERNOON MAY 19 CONCERNING RHODESIA, WITH A SOUTH AFRICAN
AMENDMENT, ORIGINAL FORM OF WHICH WE MODIFIED. STATEMENT AS
AMENDED: "THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT AGREES TO SUPPORT BRITISH-
AMERICAN EFFORTS TO GET THE DIRECTLY INTERESTED PARTIES TO

AGREE TO AN INDEPENDENCE CONSTITUTION AND THE NECESSARY TRANSITIONAL ARRANGEMENTS, INCLUDING THE HOLDING OF ELECTIONS IN WHICH ALL CAN TAKE PART EQUALLY, SO THAT ZIMBABWE CAN ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE DURING 1978 AND PEACE. LIKEWISE, EVERY EFFORT WILL BE MADE TO BRING ABOUT A DE-ESCALATION OF VIOLENCE, AND IT IS BELIEVED THAT THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS WILL BE THE BEST WAY TO ACHIEVE THIS END." BOTH SIDES AGREED THAT THAT LANGUAGE WOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE VICE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT TO THE PRESS FOLLOWING THE MORNING MEETING. THERE WAS A DIFFERENCE IN INTERPRETATION BY THE TWO SIDES CONCERNING THE IMPLICATION OF "ALL" IN THE PHRASE CONCERNING PARTICIPATION IN ELECTIONS. VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE SAID THAT FOR US, IT MEANT UNIVERSAL SUFFRAGE; VORSTER AND BOTHA ARGUED THAT THAT INTERPRETATION WOULD PREJUDGE EVENTUAL CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS.

2. NAMIBIA.

SOUTH AFRICAN EFFORTS TO PUSH LANGUAGE CONCERNING NAMIBIA WERE NOT SUCCESSFUL, IN VIEW OF SOUTH AFRICAN OBJECTION TO SPECIFYING IN STATEMENT THOSE QUESTIONS WHICH REMAIN TO BE RESOLVED. VICE PRESIDENT REITERATED OUR POSITION THAT CENTRAL ADMINISTERING AUTHORITY IN NAMIBIA SHOULD BE NEUTRAL AND NOT PREJUDGE THE SHAPE OF THE INDEPENDENCE GOVERNMENT. VORSTER DID CONFIRM WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS OUTSTANDING POINTS, INCLUDING NATURE OF CENTRAL AUTHORITY WITH CONTACT GROUP IN CAPETOWN, DURING LATE MAY.

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3. SOUTH AFRICA

VICE PRESIDENT CITED VORSTER'S MARCH 23 MESSAGE TO PRESIDENT CARTER, IN WHICH VORSTER EXPRESSED DESIRE TO DISCUSS "THE PROBLEMS OF SOUTHERN AFRICA." IF WE ARE TO DISCUSS THIS QUESTION, WE WANT TO DO SO IN GOOD FAITH, THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID. THE PROBLEMS OF RHODESIA, NAMIBIA, AND SOUTH AFRICA ITSELF ALL ARE INVOLVED. WE KNOW THE QUESTION OF CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA IS DIFFICULT AND EMOTIONAL. BUT WE HOPE FOR AN IMPROVEMENT IN OUR RELATIONS: THIS IS THE SPIRIT IN WHICH PRESIDENT CARTER WANTED ME, IN HIS NAME, TO CONDUCT THIS HISTORIC MEETING. WITHOUT THREATS, BUT WITH CLARITY, WE WISHED TO SET FORTH IN VIENNA OUR VIEWS ON RHODESIA, NAMIBIA, AND SOUTH AFRICA. THE VICE PRESIDENT OBSERVED THAT SOUTH AFRICAN PROGRESS IN ANY OF THESE AREAS WOULD BE WELCOMED, AND WE WOULD ACKNOWLEDGE IT. BUT, WE SOUGHT PROGRESS ON ALL THREE QUESTIONS. CONCERNING SOUTH AFRICA, WE DO NOT BELIEVE APARTHEID TO BE WORKABLE OR JUST. WE BELIEVE THERE SHOULD BE A PROGRESSIVE TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY. INVOLVED IN THAT TRANSFORMATION WOULD BE AN END TO SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT, WHICH WE CONSIDER TO BE DISCRIMINATION, AND FULL AND EQUAL PARTICIPATION BY ALL IN THE AFFAIRS OF THEIR NATIONAL GOVERNMENT.

4. AS STEPS IN THIS DIRECTION, SAID THE VICE PRESIDENT, IT WOULD BE VALUABLE WERE THERE TO BE A PROMPT INITIATION OF DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE SAG AND GENUINE BLACK LEADERS. THE REPEAL OF LEGISLATION

SUCH AS THE "PASS LAWS" WOULD ALSO BE HELPFUL. THE BANISHMENT OF WINNIE MANDELA IS HARMFUL TO THE GOOD BILATERAL RELATIONS WHICH WE SEEK. WE BELIEVE THAT SOUTH AFRICAN FAILURE TO MOVE AT HOME WILL LEAD TO ESCALATING VIOLENCE AND INCREASED INTERNATIONAL PRESSURES. THIS, IN TURN, WOULD LEAD US, MORE IN SORROW THAN IN ANGER, TO GO OUR SEPARATE WAY, BASED ON OUR COMMITMENT TO FUNDAMENTAL HUMAN RIGHTS.

5. THE CHOICE IS SOUTH AFRICA'S. WE PRAY FOR CHANGE. IT IS IN SOUTH AFRICA'S INTEREST. OUR COMMITMENT TO HUMAN RIGHTS IS
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A PERMANENT ONE. THE HISTORY OF AFRICA SHOWS THE IMPERMANENCE OF MINORITY WHITE AND COLONIAL REGIMES. FRUSTRATION, INJUSTICE, AND RESULTING VIOLENCE WILL BE EXPLOITED BY THE SOVIETS. THE VICE PRESIDENT IMPLIED THAT IN SUCH A SITUATION, WE WILL BE GUIDED BY OUR COMMITMENT TO FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES. WE WANT GOOD RELATIONS. WE ARE STATING OUR POLICY CLEARLY TO THE SOUTH AFRICANS IN ORDER THAT THERE MAY BE NO MISUNDERSTANDING AS SAG MAKES ITS OWN PLANS. WE HAVE NO ROAD MAPS OR CHECK LISTS. BUT WE DO SEEK PROGRESS IN SOUTH AFRICA, IN RHODESIA, AND NAMIBIA--ALL THREE.

6. VORSTER REPLIED THAT THIS MESSAGE CAUSED HIM "ENORMOUS SUFFERING." HE RETURNED TO WELL-KNOWN SOUTH AFRICAN SCRIPT: AMERICAN BLACKS ARE NOT THE SAME AS SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS; AMERICAN BLACKS CAME TO US AS SLAVES AND HAVE BEEN DIVESTED OF THEIR AFRICAN BACKGROUND. VORSTER SAID THAT SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS ARE FAR MORE LIKE OUR INDIANS, AND COMMENTED ADVERSELY ON U.S. TREATMENT OF INDIANS. THE VICE PRESIDENT AGREED THAT OUR TREATMENT HAS BEEN "SHAMEFUL," WHICH LED VORSTER LATER TO TURN INSTEAD TO THE GUAMESE (SIC) AS REPRESENTING PEOPLE NOT ABLE TO PARTICIPATE FULLY IN THE AMERICAN POLITICAL PROCESS.

7. VORSTER THEN WENT INTO LENGTHY DEFENSE OF SOUTH AFRICAN RACIAL POLICIES, SUPPORTING HOMELANDS, ALLUDING TO HIS EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE EQUAL PAY FOR BLACKS, ADDING THAT HE HAD MET OFTEN WITH BLACK LEADERS OVER PAST TWO YEARS. HE TOLD OF WORKERS COMING TO SOUTH AFRICA FROM INDEPENDENT BLACK AFRICAN STATES, TO SEEK WORK. SOUTH AFRICA IS NOT MULTIRACIAL; IT IS MULTINATIONAL. "IF YOU THINK WE SHOULD SCRAP (HOMELAND) GOVERNMENTS AND INTRODUCE ONE-MAN, ONE-VOTE IN THE CENTRAL PARLIAMENT, I SAY IT CAN'T BE DONE." VORSTER'S ARGUMENTS WEAKENED STILL FURTHER, VIZ: HOW COULD ONE HAVE SUCH A PARLIAMENT WHEN ITS MEMBERS COULD SPEAK TEN DIFFERENT LANGUAGES? THE ZULUS ARE GOVERNED BY A KING; WERE THERE TO BE EQUALITY IN A CENTRAL PARLIAMENT, SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BECOME A KINGDOM* NO, VORSTER COUNTERED, SOUTH AFRICA WILL PURSUE THE BANTUSTAN
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POLICY, AND MODUS VIVENDI WILL BE WORKED OUT FOR SHARING
REMAINDER OF TERRITORY AMONG WHITES, COLOREDS, AND INDIANS.

8. VORSTER DEFENDED TRANSFER TO ORANGE FREE STATE OF MRS.
MANDELA, CHARGING HER HUSBAND HAD WRITTEN THESIS ON "HOW TO
BE A GOOD COMMUNIST." IF MRS. MANDELA WISHES TO GO TO
SWAZILAND OR TRANSKEI, SHE CAN, AND SHE CAN REMAIN THERE, HE
ARGUED. FOR HUMANITARIAN REASONS, SAG DOES NOT JAIL "SUCH
PEOPLE", IT ONLY "CONFINES" THEM.

9. PASS LAWS, VORSTER CONTINUED, WERE CONCEIVED BY THE BRITISH;
THEY ARE AIMED AT PREVENTING URBAN HOUSING AND UNEMPLOYMENT
PROBLEMS. "IF A BETTER SOLUTION IS PROPOSED, I WILL SCRAP"
THIS SYSTEM. VORSTER OBSERVED THAT A PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION
NOW IS STUDYING WHETHER JOB RESTRICTIONS STILL ARE NECESSARY
FOR THE TWO AND ONE-HALF PERCENT OF THE LABOR FORCE TO WHOM
THEY APPLY. VORSTER THEN APPEALED, "WE ARE NOT AS WHITE AS
WE ARE PAINTED: IF ONLY YOU ACCEPT THIS, PROGRESS IS POSSIBLE."
VORSTER DARED US TO NAME AN AFRICAN COUNTRY SAG SHOULD ACCEPT
AS A MODEL.

10. VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE TOLD VORSTER THAT WE DID NOT BELIEVE
INJUSTICE IN ONE COUNTRY JUSTIFIED IT ELSEWHERE. HE REPEATED FOR
SAG THE DEPTH OF OUR COMMITMENT AND OUR BELIEF THAT AN END TO
DISCRIMINATION, AND FULL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION BY ALL IN SOUTH
AFRICA COULD LEAD TO A HEALTHY, JUST, AND SECURE SOCIETY.

11. BOTHA THEN "GOT DOWN TO THE BONE" (HIS WORDS). SOUTH AFRICA,
HE SAID, HAS EXISTED FOR 300 YEARS. HOW CAN IT ACCEPT A SOLUTION
WHICH MEANS ITS DESTRUCTION? "THE QUESTION IS THE SURVIVAL OF
OUR PEOPLE." THE VICE PRESIDENT RETORED THAT OUR OWN TRANS-
FORMATION HAD BROUGHT US JOY AND STRENGTH ECONOMICALLY,
POLITICALLY, AND CULTURALLY. WITH PROPER GUARENTEES, A SOCIETY CAN
FLOURISH. VORSTER NOTED THAT DISCRIMINATION IN SOUTH AFRICA WOULD
BE ERADICATED, BUT NOT APARTHEID, WHICH IS NOT REGARDED BY SAG TO
BE DISCRIMINATION.

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12. THE VICE PRESIDENT EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR MEETING, AND
HOPE THAT DIALOGUE AND PROGRESS WOULD OCCUR IN SOUTH AFRICA,
RHODESIA, AND NAMIBIA. VORSTER REPLIED THAT HE, TOO, WAS GRATEFUL
FOR THE MEETING: "WHETHER OR NOT WE AGREE, THE CLARIFICATION
HAS CLEARED THE AIR." IT IS BETTER TO MEET AROUND THE TABLE THAN
TO SHOUT AT ONE ANOTHER. THERE IS NOTHING SOUTH AFRICA WANTS
MORE THAN BETTER RELATIONS WITH U.S., HE ADDED. BUT ALL
CONCESSIONS CANNOT COME FROM ONE SIDE. WE ARE OF THE WEST AND
I REGARD YOU AS MY LEADER. "I CAN TAKE KICKS IN THE PANTS,
BUT DON'T KICK ME IN THE TEETH."

12. THE VICE PRESIDENT ONCE AGAIN TOLD VORSTER OF OUR
PREFERENCE FOR IMPROVED RELATIONS. VORSTER ASKED WHETHER
THE VICE PRESIDENT PLANNED TO MEET WITH HIM AGAIN IN NEAR

FUTURE. THE VICE PRESIDENT SAID THAT HE HAD NO PLANS TO.
LEAVING THE ROOM, HE REITERATED TO VORSTER THAT WERE PROGRESS
ON SOUTH AFRICA'S PART NOT FORTHCOMING, CONSEQUENCES WOULD FOLLOW.
VORSTER ACKNOWLEDGED THIS, WITHOUT COMMENT.RYORK UNQUOTE VANCE

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